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8 December 1988

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MEMORANDUM FOR:

Director of Central Intelligence

FROM:

William M. Baker

Director, Public Affairs Office

SUBJECT:

Arrangements to Address the Council on Foreign Relations

- 1. This is background information for your address of the Council on Foreign Relations meeting in Washington, D.C. on Monday, 12 December, -- reception 6:00 p.m., program 6:20 p.m. and dinner at 7:30 p.m. The meeting will be held at the Carnegie Endowment Conference Center, 11 Dupont Circle. Phone: 797-6460. I will accompany you and remain with you throughout the program and dinner. A business suit is appropriate for the occasion.
- 2. Arrangements for Your Address: You are requested to be at the entrance of the conference center on the 8th floor at 6:00 p.m. where you will be met by Washington Director of the Council of Foreign Relations, Alton Frye, and Assistant Director Linda Harsh for a short reception. (See tab for biography.) At approximately 6:15 p.m. Mr. Frye will escort you and former Senator Howard Baker to the podium where you both will be asked to sign the guest book. Your remarks on "Intelligence Issues of the Future" are scheduled to begin at 6:20 p.m. The suggested format is 20-30 minutes of remarks followed by 30 minutes of questions and answers. Senator Baker is the presider for the program and will introduce you. During your presentation, he will be seated near the podium and will moderate the Q & A session. Your remarks will be on the record and will be taped by the Council for the Agency's files. However, the question and answer period will be off-the-record and not-for-attribution and therefore not taped. Photographs will be taken for the Council's annual report by an in-house photographer at the social hour and at the podium prior to your address. A microphone will be available for your use. The program will adjourn at 7:30 p.m. Dinner will be served in the nearby Choate Room.

Audience: You can expect an audience of 100-150 members who are academicians, professionals, and business and government leaders from the Washington area. All members are US citizens. Former CIA Directors William Colby, Richard Helms, and Stansfield Turner are attending. Congressman William Richardson (D, NM), staffers from the Hill, and several former Senators and Congressmen are expected to be in the audience.

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Since media representatives are members of the Council, you can expect the following journalists to be in the audience:

Martin Agronsky Peter Bernstein William Beecher Hodding Carter Arnaud De Borchgrave

* David Gergen Paul Gigot * David Ignatius * Rick Interfurth Morton Kondracke

Cord Meyer Judith Miller Judith Miller
William F. Powers
NEW YORK TIMES Daniel Schorr Elaine Sciolino Jeffrey Smith Robert Anthony Snow Strobe Talbott

* Robert Toth Henry Trewhitt Bruce Van Voorst

Evan Thomas

Robert Zelnick

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

BOSTON GLOBE

MAINSTREET PRODUCTIONS THE WASHINGTON TIMES U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON POST

ABC NEWS NEWSWEEK NEWS AMERICA

THE WASHINGTON POST

National Public Radio (NPR)

THE NEW YORK TIMES THE WASHINGTON POST

National Public Radio (NPR)

TIME MAGAZINE

NEWSWEEK

LOS ANGELES TIMES

U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT

TIME MAGAZINE

ABC

(* Members of the media who are also scheduled to attend the dinner.)

- 3. Arrangements for the Council's Dinner: Mr. Frye will escort you to the Choate Room for an informal reception and buffet dinner for about 50 people immediately following the program. The head table seating arrangement will not be available until Monday morning. I will forward it to you at that time. After dinner (about 8:40 p.m.) informal discussion will be continued on topics covered during your talk. All guests will remain seated at their tables until adjournment at 9:30 p.m.
- Background: The Council on Foreign Relations, established in 1921, is a nonprofit and nonpartisan organization of 2500 members dedicated to improving the understanding of American foreign policy and international affairs. Approximately 600 members live in the Washington area. The Council conducts meetings at its headquarters in New York City, in Washington, D.C., and in other cities throughout the United States to provide opportunities for its members to hear the views of foreign policy officials and experts from this country and abroad. In addition, research projects are carried out by professional staff members. Selected statesmen, business leaders, and academic experts act as advisors for these projects. The Council publishes Foreign Affairs, which is regarded by many as the premier publication in its field. The editor, William Hyland, is a former Agency employee. (For further background information see brochure in front pocket.)

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Speakers this fall in Washington have included Frank Carlucci, Tom Foley (D, WA), and OMB Director Richard Darman. Stansfield Turner, William Colby, and Richard Helms addressed the Washington Council after they served as DCI. You spoke to the New York Council on Foreign Relations last December.

According to the Council's Assistant Director, this program has had one of the highest responses since the Council opened in Washington ten years ago and the largest dinner list in their history.

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William M. Baker

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2 December 1988

JUDGE:

You will be addressing the Council on Foreign Relations at the Carnegie Endowment Center in Washington, D.C. on 12 December. We anticipate an audience of about 100 people, and your remarks will be followed by 30 minutes of questions and answers.

In the introduction, you mention that your address to the Council in New York last December dealt with the role of intelligence in our society -- to "provide timely and objective intelligence to policymakers, and to do so with fidelity to our Constitution and our laws." You then add: "A year later, I remain convinced that these two objectives are not mutually exclusive."

In the thesis on page 2, you mention that you want to discuss three issues that will continue to command the Intelligence Community's attention -- the changes under way in the Soviet Union, the proliferation of advanced weapons, and the narcotics problem. You then add: "I'd also like to discuss the changes that have made it possible for us to take on those challenges with the confidence of the Congress and the American people."

Much of the material on the Soviet Union and narcotics has been drawn from your speeches to the World Affairs Council of Washington, D.C. and the Yale Political Union. The Soviet section has been updated in coordination with Bob Blackwell, National Intelligence Officer for the USSR, to include a reference to General Secretary Gorbachev's meeting with President Reagan and President-elect Bush, which will be held in New York on 7 December. also updated the section to address Estonia's declaration of sovereignty. Further updates will be provided as necessary.

The section on weapons proliferation was coordinated with Beth Bloomfield, Assistant National Intelligence Officer for Strategic Programs.

After discussing these substantive issues, you talk about some of the changes that have occurred during the last 19 months -- "changes that have strengthened the Central Intelligence Agency and have helped to build a higher level of confidence in us and in our work." These include policies to ensure that intelligence assessments remain objective and new guidelines on covert action review and dealings with Congress.

Your proposed remarks, which have also been coordinated with Fritz Ermarth, are attached.

Bill Baker Attachments: As stated EXEC UNCLASSIFIED WHEN SEPARATED FROM ATTACHMENTS

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PROPOSED REMARKS
BY
WILLIAM H. WEBSTER
DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE
BEFORE THE
COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
WASHINGTON, D.C.
DECEMBER 12, 1988

WHEN I SPOKE TO THE COUNCIL IN NEW YORK LAST DECEMBER, I DISCUSSED THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE IN OUR SOCIETY -- TO PROVIDE TIMELY AND OBJECTIVE INTELLIGENCE TO POLICYMAKERS, AND TO DO SO WITH FIDELITY TO OUR CONSTITUTION AND TO OUR LAWS. A YEAR LATER, I REMAIN CONVINCED THAT THESE TWO OBJECTIVES ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE. WE ARE COLLECTING INFORMATION IN EVERY CORNER OF THE GLOBE, AND WE ARE PROVIDING FINISHED INTELLIGENCE TO POLICYMAKERS ON HUNDREDS OF ISSUES, RANGING FROM ARMS CONTROL TO DROUGHT AND FAMINE IN SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA. YET JUST AS IMPORTANT, WE ARE OBSERVING THE RULES OF OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY THAT BUILD TRUST BETWEEN THOSE WHO HAVE THE INTELLIGENCE RESPONSIBILITY AND THOSE WHO ARE THE ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IT IS THAT TRUST THAT MAKES IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO OPERATE WITH THE CONFIDENCE, THE PERSEVERANCE, AND THE RESOURCEFULNESS THAT WE NEED.

MY GOOD FRIEND, GENERAL VERNON WALTERS, FORMER DEPUTY

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AND NOW OUR AMBASSADOR TO THE

UNITED NATIONS, DESCRIBES A VIEW HELD BY MANY IN THIS COUNTRY

ABOUT INTELLIGENCE. "AMERICANS," HE SAID, "HAVE ALWAYS HAD AN

AMBIVALENT ATTITUDE TOWARD INTELLIGENCE. WHEN THEY FEEL

THREATENED, THEY WANT A LOT OF IT, AND WHEN THEY DON'T, THEY

TEND TO REGARD THE WHOLE THING AS SOMEWHAT IMMORAL."

NATIONAL SECURITY, I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WANT A LOT OF INTELLIGENCE. AND TONIGHT I'D LIKE TO FOCUS ON THREE CONCERNS THAT HAVE AND WILL CONTINUE TO COMMAND THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY'S ATTENTION. THESE CONCERNS ARE THE CHANGES UNDER WAY IN THE SOVIET UNION, THE PROLIFERATION OF ADVANCED WEAPONS, AND THE NARCOTICS PROBLEM. I'D ALSO LIKE TO DISCUSS THE CHANGES THAT HAVE MADE IT POSSIBLE FOR US TO TAKE ON THOSE CHALLENGES WITH THE CONFIDENCE OF THE CONGRESS AND THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

AS YOU MIGHT EXPECT, THOSE OF US IN THE INTELLIGENCE
BUSINESS HAVE BEEN KEEPING A CLOSE WATCH ON LEADERSHIP CHANGES
AND REFORM EFFORTS IN THE SOVIET UNION. AND I'D LIKE TO TAKE A
MOMENT TO SHARE A STORY THAT IS CIRCULATING IN THE SOVIET UNION
NOW THAT PERESTROIKA IS TAKING EFFECT. THE PRESIDENT IS
COLLECTING THESE STORIES, SO WE PASS THEM TO HIM IF WE THINK
THEY ARE RELIABLE.¹

((THE STORY ABOUT GORBACHEV'S REPRESENTATIVE VISITING A

SMALL VILLAGE IN THE UKRAINE, ASKING ABOUT TELEVISION SETS AND

REFRIGERATORS))

ALTHOUGH THE RANGE OF INTELLIGENCE ISSUES THAT WE FACE

TODAY IS BROAD, THE SOVIET UNION IS — AND WILL CONTINUE TO

BE — THE PRIMARY FOCUS OF OUR INTELLIGENCE COLLECTION AND

ANALYSIS. ITS MILITARY CAPABILITY, ITS EFFORTS TO INCREASE

GLOBAL INFLUENCE, AND ITS AGGRESSIVE INTELLIGENCE ACTIVITIES

ARE STILL SERIOUS THREATS TO U.S. INTERESTS.

GORBACHEV'S EFFORTS TO REFORM HIS COUNTRY HAVE NOT FUNDAMENTALLY ALTERED THESE TRUTHS. ARGUABLY, THEY MAKE THE SOVIET UNION OF EVEN GREATER CONCERN TO U.S. INTELLIGENCE.

LIKE MANY OF YOU, I HAVE BEEN FASCINATED BY WHAT IS

OCCURRING IN THE SOVIET UNION. GORBACHEV HAS STIRRED UP THE

STEW — BRINGING NEW LIFE AND DYNAMISM TO SOVIET POLITICS AND

PUSHING A SERIES OF REFORMS THAT NONE OF US COULD HAVE FORESEEN

FIVE YEARS AGO.

THE FORCES OF DEMOCRACY ARE MAKING SOME POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INROADS — ESPECIALLY IN THE BALTIC REPUBLICS.

ALTHOUGH THE USSR CERTAINLY IS NOT HEADED TOWARD DEMOCRACY AS WE KNOW IT, TODAY'S SOVIET LEADERS APPEAR TO UNDERSTAND THAT THEIR SYSTEM IS FALTERING LARGELY BECAUSE IT HAS NOT GIVEN THE PEOPLE ENOUGH BREATHING ROOM — ROOM TO INNOVATE, ROOM TO INQUIRE, ROOM TO UNLOCK CREATIVITY.

CHANGE IS OCCURRING IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY AS WELL. THIS SOVIET LEADER HAS SIGNALED BY WORD AND DEED THAT HE WANTS THE USSR TO BE A MORE ACTIVE AND EFFECTIVE PLAYER ON THE WORLD SCENE. HIS RECENT VISIT TO THE U.N. AND HIS MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT AND PRESIDENT-ELECT REFLECTS THIS OBJECTIVE. MORE WILLING THAN PAST SOVIET LEADERS TO REEVALUATE THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF SOVIET FOREIGN POLICIES AND MAKE DECISIONS ON THAT BASIS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE SOVIETS ARE LEAVING AFGHANISTAN --- ALTHOUGH WITH SOME DIFFICULTY AND WITH A BITTERSWEET TASTE IN THEIR MOUTHS. AND THEY ARE ELIMINATING A WHOLE CLASS OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNDER THE INF TREATY -- A PROCESS THAT INCLUDES UNPRECEDENTED ON-SITE INSPECTIONS OF SOVIET MILITARY FACILITIES. IN THE START NEGOTIATIONS, THE SOVIETS ARE ENGAGED WITH US IN SEEKING MAJOR REDUCTIONS IN EVEN MORE DANGEROUS NUCLEAR SYSTEMS.

THE DRAMATIC NATURE OF THESE POLICY CHANGES CLEARLY HAS
PROVOKED CONTROVERSY WITHIN THE SOVIET UNION. A MAJOR POWER
STRUGGLE CONTINUES BETWEEN REFORMERS, WHO BELIEVE RADICAL
CHANGES ARE NECESSARY TO MAKE THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM WORK, AND
CONSERVATIVES, WHO FEAR SUCH CHANGES COULD DESTABILIZE THE VERY
SYSTEM THEY ARE TRYING TO SAVE. THE OUTCOME OF THIS STRUGGLE
WILL AFFECT HOW FAR AND HOW FAST REFORM PROGRESSES, THE EXTENT
TO WHICH CENTRAL AUTHORITY IS RELAXED, THE GENERAL WELFARE OF
THE INDIVIDUAL, AND HOW COMPETITIVE THE SOVIET SYSTEM WILL BE
OVER THE NEXT FEW DECADES.

IN LATE SEPTEMBER, GORBACHEV SIGNIFICANTLY STRENGTHENED HIS POSITION IN THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP — UNDERTAKING THE MOST SWEEPING OVERHAUL OF THE TOP PARTY LEADERSHIP SINCE KHRUSHCHEV OUSTED HIS CHIEF OPPONENTS IN 1957. THE CHANGES MADE SHOULD ALLOW GORBACHEV TO PUSH HIS POLICY AGENDA AT HOME AND ABROAD WITH RENEWED MOMENTUM.

WHILE AN IMPORTANT VICTORY, THIS STRUGGLE TO REFORM THE SOVIET SYSTEM WILL GO ON FOR DECADES, REQUIRING GORBACHEV AND HIS SUCCESSORS TO OVERCOME ENORMOUS POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND CULTURAL OBSTACLES.

THERE ARE STRONG REASONS TO QUESTION WHETHER A SYSTEM DESIGNED TO CENTRALIZE AUTHORITY, MAXIMIZE GOVERNMENT CONTROL OVER ITS PEOPLE, AND CONCENTRATE RESOURCES ON BUILDING UP THE NATION'S MILITARY STRENGTH CAN BECOME MORE DECENTRALIZED AND DEMOCRATIC IN ITS DECISIONMAKING AND MORE SOLICITOUS OF ITS PEOPLE. NATIONALIST UNREST IS CURRENTLY TESTING THE SOVIET SYSTEM'S ABILITY TO MAKE REFORMS WORK. COMMUNAL UNREST IN ARMENIA AND AZERBAIJAN HAVE FORCED MOSCOW TO PUT THE REGION IN A VIRTUAL STATE OF MARTIAL LAW ON A SEMI-PERMANENT BASIS. JUST LAST MONTH, THE COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP OF ESTONIA DECLARED THE REPUBLIC "SOVEREIGN," AN UNTHINKABLE DEVELOPMENT EVEN A YEAR AGO.² WHILE REJECTING THIS DECLARATION, GORBACHEV HAS

SIGNALED A WILLINGNESS TO COMPROMISE. IT IS BY NO MEANS

CERTAIN -- AND MANY DOUBT IT -- THAT MINORITY ASPIRATIONS FOR INDEPENDENCE CAN BE SQUARED WITH MOSCOW'S NEED FOR CONTROL.

BUT IF THE LAST THREE YEARS HAVE TAUGHT US ANYTHING AT ALL,
IT IS THAT GORBACHEV IS A HIGHLY SKILLED POLITICIAN, AND WE
CANNOT RULE OUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT HE CAN, ULTIMATELY, PULL
OFF A "REVOLUTION FROM ABOVE" THAT ACTUALLY INCREASES AUTHORITY
BELOW.

THE SOVIET REFORM EFFORT PRESENTS THE U.S. INTELLIGENCE
COMMUNITY WITH SOME FORMIDABLE CHALLENGES. WE MUST PAY CLOSER
ATTENTION THAN EVER TO THE POLITICAL STRUGGLES AND ISSUES BEING
RAISED AS GORBACHEV CHALLENGES THE ESTABLISHED INTERESTS OF
INDIVIDUALS AND INSTITUTIONS WITHIN HIS COUNTRY.

WE MUST ALSO HELP THE POLICYMAKER SORT OUT HOW REFORM WILL

AFFECT SOVIET MILITARY AND ECONOMIC CAPABILITIES AND -- EVEN

MORE DIFFICULT -- HOW IT MAY CHANGE MOSCOW'S FOREIGN POLICY.

WE MUST MANAGE THE INFORMATION EXPLOSION THAT GLASNOST HAS PRODUCED WHICH, THOUGH WELCOME, CHALLENGES US TO SORT OUT WHAT IS IMPORTANT AND WHAT IS NOT, WHAT IS REAL VERSUS WHAT MOSCOW WANTS US TO HEAR.

WE MUST PROVIDE INTELLIGENCE AND ANALYSIS FOR U.S.—SOVIET ARMS CONTROL TALKS. AS THESE NEGOTIATIONS PROGRESS, THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY WILL BE INCREASINGLY ASKED TO ASSESS SOVIET MOTIVATIONS AND MONITOR SOVIET COMPLIANCE WITH THE PROVISIONS OF AGREEMENTS. AND THE AMOUNT OF SUPPORT REQUIRED IS TREMENDOUS. THE INF TREATY HAS REQUIRED THE UNITED STATES TO MONITOR ABOUT 120 FACILITIES DECLARED BY THE SOVIETS.

MONITORING THE START TREATY, WHICH IS BEING NEGOTIATED IN GENEVA, COULD INVOLVE AS MANY AS 2,500 WEAPON LOCATIONS SPREAD THROUGHOUT THE SOVIET UNION.

YET WHATEVER ARMS CONTROL AGREEMENTS THE U.S. MAKES WITH
THE SOVIETS, OUR RELATIONSHIP IS LIKELY TO REMAIN ADVERSARIAL.

POLICYMAKERS WILL DEPEND ON THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY TO MAKE

QUICK AND ACCURATE ASSESSMENTS — AND EVEN TO ANTICIPATE

GORBACHEV'S SOMETIMES UNORTHODOX AND UNEXPECTED INITIATIVES.

BUT THE SOVIET UNION IS CERTAINLY NOT OUR ONLY FOCUS.

ANOTHER MAJOR CONCERN IS THE PROLIFERATION OF ADVANCED
WEAPONS, PARTICULARLY BALLISTIC MISSILES. BY THE YEAR 2000, AT
LEAST 15 DEVELOPING COUNTRIES WILL EITHER HAVE PRODUCED OR BE
ABLE TO BUILD THEIR OWN BALLISTIC MISSILES. ALTHOUGH THESE
MISSILES MAY BE SOMEWHAT CRUDE AND INACCURATE, MANY OF THEM
WILL HAVE CAPABILITIES WELL BEYOND BATTLEFIELD RANGE. AND
THE HIGH SPEED OF BALLISTIC MISSILES ENABLES AN ATTACKER TO
STRIKE WITH LITTLE WARNING AND MAKES IT DIFFICULT FOR THE
DEFENDER TO DESTROY INCOMING MISSILES.

BALLISTIC MISSILES ALSO CONVEY IMPORTANT NEW POLITICAL AND MILITARY STATUS TO THOSE WHO ACQUIRE THEM. MANY OF THE COUNTRIES WHERE THESE MISSILES ARE BEING DEVELOPED ARE IN THE

MIDDLE EAST — AN AREA WHERE WE HAVE IMPORTANT SECURITY INTERESTS, AND WHERE REGIONAL TENSIONS ARE HIGHEST.

ALL OF THE THIRD WORLD MISSILE DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS RELY ON FOREIGN TECHNOLOGY TO SOME DEGREE. BUT MUCH OF THIS CRITICAL TECHNOLOGY IS ALREADY DIFFUSED THROUGHOUT THE WORLD, IS AVAILABLE FOR OTHER PURPOSES, OR CAN EASILY BE DIVERTED. THERE IS ALSO EXTENSIVE SHARING OF TECHNOLOGY AMONG THIRD WORLD MISSILE COUNTRIES, AND THEY ARE INCREASINGLY POOLING THEIR RESOURCES AND TECHNICAL KNOW-HOW.

ANOTHER DISTURBING DEVELOPMENT WE HAVE SEEN IS THE OUTRIGHT TRANSFER OF COMPLETE MISSILE SYSTEMS FROM ONE COUNTRY TO ANOTHER. THIS COULD BECOME A WAY FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO LEAPFROG AHEAD OF THE COMPETITION ALTHOUGH MOST COUNTRIES WILL STILL SEEK TO DEVELOP MISSILE CAPABILITIES THAT THEY ALONE CONTROL. WE CAN ALSO LOOK FOR THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES THEMSELVES TO BECOME MAJOR EXPORTERS OF MISSILES AND MISSILE TECHNOLOGY.

AS THREATENING AS THE INCREASE IN BALLISTIC MISSILES AND
THE TRANSFER OF ENTIRE MISSILE SYSTEMS MAY BE, WE MUST ALSO BE
ALERT TO ATTEMPTS BY DEVELOPING NATIONS TO ARM BALLISTIC
MISSILES WITH CHEMICAL WARHEADS. A MAJOR QUESTION WE ARE NOW
ADDRESSING IS WHAT LESSONS IRAN AND IRAQ — AND THE REST OF THE
WORLD — HAVE LEARNED FROM A WAR THAT INVOLVED THE FIRST
SUSTAINED USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS SINCE WORLD WAR I.

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, THE USE OF CHEMICAL WEAPONS WAS

OUTLAWED BY SIGNERS OF THE 1925 GENEVA PROTOCOL. DURING

WORLD WAR II — EVEN DURING THE MOST DESPERATE BATTLES — BOTH

SIDES REFRAINED FROM USING CHEMICAL WEAPONS — WEAPONS THAT

WINSTON CHURCHILL REFERRED TO AS "THAT HELLISH POISON."

THE IRAN-IRAQ WAR ENDED THAT RESTRAINT AND SET A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT FOR FUTURE WARS. THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY HAS CONSIDERABLE EVIDENCE THAT IRAQ USED CHEMICAL WEAPONS AGAINST IRAN AND ALSO AGAINST IRAQI KURDS. IRAN, TOO, EMPLOYED CHEMICAL WEAPONS AGAINST IRAQI TROOPS.

CHEMICAL WEAPONS ARE THOUGHT TO OFFER A CHEAP AND READILY
OBTAINABLE MEANS OF REDRESSING THE MILITARY BALANCE AGAINST
MORE POWERFUL FOES. SOME SEE THEM AS THE POOR MAN'S ANSWER TO
NUCLEAR WEAPONS, AND AS MANY AS 20 COUNTRIES MAY BE DEVELOPING
CHEMICAL WEAPONS.

IT ALSO APPEARS THAT THE MORAL BARRIER TO BIOLOGICAL
WARFARE HAS BEEN BREACHED. AT LEAST 10 COUNTRIES ARE WORKING
TO PRODUCE BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS. AND THIS PRESENTS US WITH
ANOTHER INTELLIGENCE CHALLENGE.

ALONG WITH ASSESSING CAPABILITIES TO DEVELOP AND PRODUCE
BALLISTIC MISSILES AND CHEMICAL AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS, WE MUST
MAKE JUDGMENTS ABOUT WHAT COULD PROMPT FOREIGN COUNTRIES TO USE
THEM. THIS IS ONE OF OUR MOST IMPORTANT TASKS, AND WE WILL
CONTINUE TO PROVIDE U.S. POLICYMAKERS WITH ACCURATE AND TIMELY
INFORMATION ON THIS ISSUE.

THE THIRD MATTER OF GREAT CONCERN TO THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY THAT I WANT TO DISCUSS TONIGHT IS THE NARCOTICS PROBLEM.

YOU ARE ALL AWARE OF THE ALARMING EXTENT OF NARCOTICS ABUSE
IN OUR OWN COUNTRY. ALMOST 40 PERCENT OF ORGANIZED-CRIME
ACTIVITY IN OUR COUNTRY IS RELATED TO DRUGS, GENERATING AN
INCOME ESTIMATED TO BE AS HIGH AS \$110 BILLION.

ON THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, WE HAVE DOCUMENTED

EVER-INCREASING RATES OF DRUG PRODUCTION AND TRAFFICKING.

NARCOTICS ACTIVITY HAS BEEN ACCOMPANIED BY A HORRIFYING

INCREASE IN VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION — ESPECIALLY IN LATIN

AMERICA. DRUG TRAFFICKERS IN COLOMBIA ROUTINELY USE VIOLENCE.

JUDGES AND OTHER GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS, BUSINESSMEN AND

JOURNALISTS IN THAT COUNTRY HAVE BEEN THE TARGETS OF BRIBERY,

INTIMIDATION, AND ASSASSINATION.

THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY COLLECTS AND ANALYZES

INFORMATION ON EVERY STEP IN THE OPERATION OF NARCOTICS

PRODUCTION, PROCESSING, DISTRIBUTION, AND THE LAUNDERING OF

PROFITS. OUR EFFORTS ARE DESIGNED BOTH TO MEET IMMEDIATE NEEDS

FOR INTELLIGENCE AND TO HELP FASHION LONGER-TERM DRUG CONTROL

STRATEGIES.

WE PROVIDE INTELLIGENCE TO THE FBI, THE DRUG ENFORCEMENT
ADMINISTRATION, THE CUSTOMS SERVICE, AND THE COAST GUARD TO
ASSIST THEM IN THEIR DRUG INTERDICTION AND ENFORCEMENT EFFORTS.

OUR INTELLIGENCE ALSO ASSISTS FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS IN THEIR
COUNTERNARCOTICS PROGRAMS. SEVERAL LATIN AMERICAN COUNTRIES

ARE UNDERTAKING A MAJOR COOPERATIVE EFFORT TO DESTROY DRUG

PROCESSING LABORATORIES, AIRSTRIPS, AND CHEMICAL HOLDING

AREAS. WE ARE ALSO SUPPORTING AN INTERDICTION OPERATION AT THE
SOUTHWEST BORDER THAT INVOLVES FEDERAL, STATE, AND LOCAL

AUTHORITIES IN BOTH COUNTRIES.

OUR INTELLIGENCE CAN HELP FOREIGN COUNTRIES MEASURE THE
EXTENT OF THEIR OWN DRUG PROBLEM. USING SOME OF OUR
INTELLIGENCE ANALYSIS, U.S. DIPLOMATS WERE ABLE TO SHOW ONE
FOREIGN GOVERNMENT THE EXTENT OF ENVIRONMENTAL DAMAGE DONE BY
THE SLASH—AND—BURN AGRICULTURE OF ITS NARCOTICS GROWERS. THE
GOVERNMENT INTENSIFIED ITS ERADICATION EFFORTS AND MADE A MAJOR
DENT IN DRUG PRODUCTION. BUT THE NARCOTICS INDUSTRY IS
RESILIENT. IN THIS CASE, NARCOTICS PRODUCTION CAME DOWN, BUT
THE COUNTRY HAS INCREASINGLY BECOME A REGIONAL TRANSIT POINT
FOR NARCOTICS.

INTELLIGENCE IS ALSO USED TO HELP IMPLEMENT ANTI-DRUG

LAWS. THE ANTI-DRUG ABUSE ACT OF 1986 AND THE BILL RECENTLY

PASSED BY CONGRESS CALL FOR THE UNITED STATES TO WITHHOLD SOME

FOREIGN ASSISTANCE FROM NATIONS THAT ARE NOT WORKING TO COUNTER

DRUG ACTIVITY WITHIN THEIR BORDERS. TO SUPPORT SUCH

LEGISLATION, WE MONITOR THE ACTIVITIES OF THE DRUG TRAFFICKERS

AND ANALYZE HOW WELL OTHER COUNTRIES' COUNTERNARCOTICS MEASURES

ARE WORKING.

BUT POLICYMAKERS RECOGNIZE THAT INTELLIGENCE, IMPORTANT AS

IT IS, DOES NOT PROVIDE A SOLUTION TO THE NARCOTICS PROBLEM.

INTELLIGENCE CAN ILLUMINATE AN ISSUE — TRACK, CLARIFY, AND

PREDICT AN OUTCOME. BUT THE ONLY REAL SOLUTION — IN THIS

COUNTRY AND WORLDWIDE — IS A REDUCED DEMAND FOR NARCOTICS,

COUPLED WITH A REAL REDUCTION IN SUPPLY.

IT IS ENCOURAGING THAT INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION IN
FIGHTING THE DRUG PROBLEM HAS INCREASED CONSIDERABLY. IN 1987,
23 NATIONS JOINED THE U.S. IN ERADICATING DRUG CROPS — IN
1981, THERE WERE ONLY TWO.

SUPPORTING OUR NATIONAL FIGHT AGAINST DRUGS WILL CONTINUE
TO BE A MAJOR PRIORITY OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY.

I'VE TALKED THUS FAR ABOUT THREE OF THE MAJOR CONCERNS THAT
WILL CONTINUE TO BE AT THE TOP OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY'S

AGENDA — SOVIET AFFAIRS, WEAPONS PROLIFERATION, AND

NARCOTICS. NOW I'D LIKE TO TALK A BIT ABOUT THE CHANGES THAT

HAVE OCCURRED OVER THE LAST 19 MONTHS — CHANGES THAT HAVE

STRENGTHENED THE CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY AND HAVE HELPED TO

BUILD A HIGHER LEVEL OF CONFIDENCE IN US AND IN OUR WORK.

YOU MAY RECALL THAT AT THIS TIME TWO YEARS AGO, THE CIA WAS AT THE CENTER OF A STORM WHICH THREATENED TO DESTROY CONFIDENCE IN OUR ROLE IN AMERICAN LIFE AND TO SHATTER THE TRUST THAT IS SO INDISPENSABLE TO OUR MISSION. THROUGHOUT 1987, WE WERE SUBJECTED TO THE MOST SEARCHING INQUIRY INTO OUR PART IN THE IRAN-CONTRA AFFAIR.

AT THE END OF LAST YEAR, I SENT A NOTE TO ALL CIA EMPLOYEES
THAT SAID: "IF EVER A TIME IN THE 40 YEARS OF THE CENTRAL
INTELLIGENCE AGENCY REQUIRED THE TALENT AND ENERGY OF THOSE WHO
SERVE, THIS HAS BEEN THAT TIME." AND A YEAR LATER, I CAN
REPORT THAT OUR PEOPLE HAVE RESPONDED, AND WE HAVE TOGETHER

TAKEN THE AGENCY THROUGH ONE OF THE MOST CHALLENGING ERAS IN OUR HISTORY.

WE HAVE, I BELIEVE, RESTORED PUBLIC CONFIDENCE IN THE CIA

AND GREATLY IMPROVED OUR RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS. AND WE HAVE

DONE THIS BY ESTABLISHING CLEAR GUIDELINES — GUIDELINES THAT

ARE WORKABLE AND WELL UNDERSTOOD.

WE HAVE ESTABLISHED POLICIES TO ENSURE THAT OUR

INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS REMAIN OBJECTIVE AND THAT ANALYSTS ARE

PROTECTED AGAINST THE PRESSURES OF POLITICAL INFLUENCE. AS

DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE, THIS INSISTENCE ON

OBJECTIVITY MAY BE THE MOST SIGNIFICANT CONTRIBUTION THAT I

COULD MAKE IN GALVANIZING A COHESIVE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY

WITHOUT COMPROMISING THE INTEGRITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL ANALYSTS

AND PROGRAM MANAGERS. AND I AM PROUD TO SAY THAT IN THE TIME I

HAVE BEEN AT CIA I HAVEN'T HEARD ANYONE ACCUSE US OF "COOKING

THE BOOKS."

I'M ALSO PROUD OF WHAT WE HAVE DONE TO STRENGTHEN THE REVIEW OF COVERT ACTIVITIES. THESE ACTIVITIES ARE THE FOCUS OF THE GREATEST CONGRESSIONAL AND PUBLIC ATTENTION, BUT I THINK IT IS WORTH POINTING OUT THAT ONLY ABOUT THREE PERCENT OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY'S RESOURCES ARE SPENT ON COVERT ACTION. UNDER THE GUIDELINES I HAVE ESTABLISHED, THE AGENCY'S SENIOR MANAGERS MUST REVIEW ALL PROPOSED COVERT ACTION FINDINGS AND RELATED DOCUMENTS THAT ARE TO BE FORWARDED TO THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. THEY MUST APPLY TESTS DESIGNED TO ENSURE THAT EACH PROGRAM CAN BE DONE, IS CONSISTENT WITH OUR DECLARED FOREIGN POLICY, AND IF EXPOSED WOULD MAKE SENSE TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE.

BECAUSE I KNOW OF THE NEED TO BE ABSOLUTELY CANDID WITH CONGRESS, AND THE RESPONSIBILITY THAT INTELLIGENCE PROFESSIONALS HAVE TO PROTECT SOURCES AND METHODS, I HAVE ESTABLISHED GUIDELINES GOVERNING OUR DEALINGS WITH CONGRESS.

AND I HAVE MADE IT CLEAR THAT IN DEALING WITH CONGRESS THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR DECEPTION. THERE HAVE BEEN SOME QUESTIONS THAT AGENCY OFFICIALS WHO BRIEF ON THE HILL HAVE HAD TO REFER BACK TO ME, AND WE HAVE WORKED OUT ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE CONGRESS. BUT WE HAVE NOT LEFT CONGRESS FEELING THAT IN SOME WAY ANYONE IN THE CIA HAS BEEN DISINGENUOUS WITH THEM. AS A RESULT, OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH CONGRESS HAS IMPROVED, AND IT WILL CONTINUE TO IMPROVE.

DURING THE LAST YEAR, WE HAVE SOUGHT GUIDANCE FROM

POLICYMAKERS ON HOW WE CAN BE MORE RESPONSIVE TO THEIR

INFORMATION REQUIREMENTS. WE HAVE BEEN AGGRESSIVE IN SEEKING

OUT NEW SOURCES OF INFORMATION. AND WE HAVE SEEN TANGIBLE

RESULTS FROM OUR COVERT OPERATIONS.

THERE IS ANOTHER POINT I WANT TO MAKE ABOUT OUR WORK, AND
IT IS THAT THE INTELLIGENCE WE PROVIDE TO POLICYMAKERS ON THE
SOVIET UNION, WEAPONS PROLIFERATION, NARCOTICS AND MANY OTHER

ISSUES IS NOT EASY TO COME BY. IN FACT, IT SOMETIMES COMES AT GREAT COST TO THE MEN AND WOMEN OF AMERICAN INTELLIGENCE. AND I THINK OF THAT EVERY TIME I WALK THROUGH THE MAIN FOYER OF OUR HEADQUARTERS BUILDING, WHERE STARS HAVE BEEN CARVED FOR THOSE WHO HAVE GIVEN THEIR LIVES IN THE LINE OF DUTY. AND I AM REMINDED THAT IT IS THE CREATIVITY, THE DETERMINATION, THE BRILLIANCE, AND THE COURAGE OF OUR PEOPLE THAT SPELLS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SUCCESS AND FAILURE.

A GERMAN POET WAS ONCE ASKED HOW THE MEDIEVAL GERMANS EVER BUILT THEIR LOFTY CATHEDRALS. HE REPLIED, "MEN IN THOSE DAYS HAD MORE THAN JUST AN OPINION, THEY FELT A COMMITMENT."

I THINK OUR PEOPLE SHOW A SIMILAR COMMITMENT, AND I HOPE
THAT WE CONTINUE TO ATTRACT THOSE BEST SUITED TO CARRY OUT OUR
MISSION. WE ARE LOOKING FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE RISK TAKERS, BUT
NOT RISK SEEKERS. PEOPLE WHO ARE DEDICATED AND RESPONSIVE TO
OUR LAW. PEOPLE TO WHOM FAME AND FORTUNE ARE NOT A NECESSARY

PART OF THEIR LIVES, BUT WHO CAN FIND IN OUR IMPORTANT WORK AN AVENUE TO PURSUE THEIR HIGHEST ASPIRATIONS FOR A SAFER AND A BETTER WORLD.

WITH SUCH PEOPLE WE CAN CONTINUE TO PROVIDE THE

INTELLIGENCE THAT POLICYMAKERS NEED, OBSERVING THE RULES OF

OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY THAT BOTH THE CONGRESS AND THE

MEMBERS OF THE INTELLIGENCE COMMUNITY HAVE A RIGHT TO EXPECT.

THIS IS WHAT YOU WOULD WANT OF US, WHAT ALL AMERICAN PEOPLE

WOULD WANT OF US, AND WE ARE DOING OUR VERY BEST TO SUPPLY IT.

	R	OUTING	3 AND	RECOR	D SHEET	
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rat	William M. Bake Director, Public Af	fairs		EXTENSION 27676	PAO 88-0270	
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11 August 1988

JUDGE:

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Speaking Invitation Council on Foreign Relations Carnegie Endowment Conference Center Washington, D.C. 29 November or 12 December 1988

Washington Director of the Council on Foreign Relations, Alton Frye, has invited you to address the Washington chapter of the Council on either 29 November, 12 December or a mutually convenient date. The proposed format is a short reception at 6:00 p.m. followed by 20-30 minutes of remarks, with a 30 minute question and answer period. The suggested topic is "Secret Operations in an Open Society" or any other topic of your choice. You could expect an audience of approximately 100 academicians, professional men and women and government leaders from the Washington area. Although several of the Council's members are with the media, the meetings are customarily not-for-attribution. However, if you wish to release your remarks the Council would waive this rule. After the meeting, you are invited to dinner and discussion with a smaller group of approximately 30.

You spoke to the New York Council on Foreign Relations last December and at that time said you were a relatively new member of the organization. The Council has an elected membership of approximately 2400 with 500-600 living in the Washington area. Former Directors, Stan Turner, Bill Colby and Dick Helms addressed the Washington Council after they served as DCI.

I believe that this would be a good forum for you to address. You will be reaching an influential group of men and women in US foreign affairs who are experts in international relations. If you agree, I have attached a letter of acceptance for your signature.

Agree, 29 November

Agree, 12 December

Choose another date

11 August 1988

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Agree, 29 November	DCI/PAO/WMB
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1 5 AUG 1988

Mr. Alton Frye
Vice President
Washington Director
Council on Foreign Relations
11 Dupont Circle, N.W., Suite 900
Washington, D.C. 20036

Dear Alton:

I accept with pleasure your invitation to address the Council on Foreign Relations on a convenient date. Speaking to the Council last year in New York and the discussion that followed was an enjoyable experience for me, and I will look forward to meeting with you and your members in Washington. A member of my Public Affairs staff will contact you concerning the arrangements.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely yours,

Isl Bill

William H. Webster Director of Central Intelligence Declassified in Part - Sanitized Copy Approved for Release 2012/08/14: CIA-RDP90G01353R002000020006-6



ALTON FRYE Vice President Washington Director

July 21, 1988

The Honorable William H. Webster Director of Central Intelligence Central Intelligence Agency Washington, DC 20505

Dear Bill:

It was good to chat with you at Rawdon Dalrymple's dinner the other evening. May I follow up the invitation I conveyed orally some time ago for you to address a general meeting of the Council here in Washington this fall. You know that we do a highly select series of meetings here and we would be honored to have you as a speaker.

My thought was that you might be willing to share your thoughts on the broad dilemmas posed by "Secret Operations in an Open Society," but we would be happy to have you treat another topic, if you prefer. With several of your predecessors and colleagues from the intelligence community among the membership, as well as a number of those who have played a central role in congressional oversight of intelligence, I am confident the discussion would be a rich one.

Ideally, we would like to schedule such a meeting in October, if that is possible. To remind you of the format, we conduct our general meetings from 6:00 to 7:30 p.m., opening with sherry and introducing the speaker at about 6:20 for remarks of 20 to 30 minutes, with Q & A until 7:30. Thereafter, we would hope you could remain for dinner and further discussion with a smaller group until final adjournment at 9:30. If you wish to use the forum for remarks on the record, we could waive the Council's customary not-for-attribution rule for any prepared remarks you want to release; let me stress, however, that we would be quite pleased with a more informal presentation.

Thank you for considering our invitation. I know there would be great interest in your views, particularly at this time of renewed debate over the proper legislative-executive balance in intelligence matters. I will call Ms. Devine in a day or two to see if you find the idea congenial.

Cordially,

Alton Frye

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14628 BUSINESS COUNCIL FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING (International Relations) (BCIU)

420 Lexington Ave. Phone: (212) 490-0460 New York, NY 10170 Charles Powleske, Pres. Founded: 1958. Members: 120. Staff: 7. Budget: \$460,000. U.S. corporations engaged in international business. BCIU's New York headquarters works with U.S. Department of State, Department of Commerce, and other government departments in arranging consultations with industry executives for U.S. ambassadors and senior embassy counselors. Cooperates with U.S. and foreign governments on problems of democratic, economic, and social development by organizing small discussion groups for heads of state, their ministers, and foreign industry missions. Performs many catalytic roles such as bringing together other business-related associations to maximize their ability to deal with problems that require attention of the business community in its own interest. Engages in comprehensive company-country research. Conducts seminars for international business, such as middle and upper management who are assigned abroad, or home-based executives with responsibilities in their companies' international affairs. Offers area intensive study course and special programs at BCIU Institute, which include familiarization with foreign institutions and viewpoints, private consultations with U.S. and foreign government specialists, and language study and orientation for spouses and older children. Committees: BCIU Benefit Working; China Film Project. Publications: Papers, periodic.

14629 CARNEGIE ENDOWMENT FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE (International Relations) (CEIP)

11 Dupont Circle, N.W.

Washington, DC 20036

Founded: 1910. Not a grant-making foundation. Conducts research, discussion, publication, and education programs in international affairs and American foreign policy. Activities change periodically and cover a broad range of mitary, political, and economic matters. Publications: Foreign Policy, quarterly.

14630 CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (International Relations) (CSFA)
SA-3, Rm. 304

Foreign Service Inst. 1400 Key Blvd. Phone: (703) 235-2109 Arlington, VA 22209 Hans Binnendijk, Exec. Officer Founded: 1982. Staff: 12. Budget: \$250,000. Objectives are: to encourage foreign affairs research of relevance to the Department of State; to conduct interdisciplinary studies in international conflict management. Encourages participation of members of academic and other public institutions in studies which can contribute to policy-making. Encourages those in the Department of State and Foreign Service with regional or functional specializations to maintain and expand their contacts and interests in their fields. Supervises: Diplomat-in-Residence program, in which foreign service officers teach in various universities; Scholar-in-Residence program, in which members of academic institutions conduct research in the Department of State; Center Fellows program, in which foreign affairs agency officers undertake research assignments; Una Chapman Cox Sabbatical Leave program, in which three mid-career Foreign Service officers conduct research projects. Conducts symposia and workshops. Publishes Study for Foreign Affairs and papers.

14631 CHATHAM HOUSE FOUNDATION (International Relations)

1230 31st St.

Phone: (202) 944-3760
Washington, DC 20007

Founded: 1983. Staff: 3. Professionals involved in academia, business, and politics who have an educational and policy-making interest in the field of international relations. Purpose is to ensure a transatlantic dialogue by infusing the American foreign policy debate with European views and by making Europeans aware of the diversity of American public opinion. Awards grants in order to promote its Friends' Program and study by Americans at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London, England. Publications: The World Today, monthly.

14632 COMMISSION ON U.S.-SOVIET RELATIONS (International Relations) (CUSSR)

keations) (CUSSR)

c/o Intl. Center for Dev. Policy

731 Eighth St., N.E.

Washington, DC 20003

Founded: 1986. Staff: 2. A commission of the International Center for Development Policy (see separate entry). Seeks to establish communication among policy specialists for the U.S., the USSR, and the Third World. Examines issues involving political and economic problems that lead to conflict in Third World nations. Sends delegates to areas of interest worldwide; plans to participate in a delegate exchange program with the Soviet Academy of Sciences. Sponsors conference for officials representing the U.S., the Soviet Union, and various Third World countries. Publishes reports made by delegations; maintains speakers' bureau. Convention/Meeting: None.

S8 E. 68th St.

New York, NY 10021

Peter Tarnoff, Pres.
Founded: 1921. Members: 2427. Staff: 95. Local Groups: 38. Individuals with specialized knowledge of and interest in international affairs. Purpose is to study the international aspects of American political, economic, and strategic problems. Research projects are carried out by professional staff advised by study groups of selected statesmen, business leaders, and academic experts. Operates International Affairs Fellowship Program, awarding eight to 12 grants annually for advanced international relations research or government experience by Americans between the ages of 27 and 35. Maintains extensive library. Publications: (1) Foreign Affairs, 5/year; (2) Annual Report also publishes specialized studies on various aspects of U.S. foreign policy Convention/Meeting: annual - always fall.

★14634★ EISENHOWER EXCHANGE FELLOWSHIPS (International Relations) (EEF)

256 S. 16th St. Phone: (215) 546-1738 Philadelphia, PA 19102 Theodore Friend, Pres. Founded: 1953. Trustees: 47. Staff: 5. Established as a nonpartisan tribute to former U.S. President Dwight D. Eisenhower to foster international development and understanding. Offers grants providing three months of travel, professional discussions, seminars, field trips, and observation in the United States for men and women from other countries who are currently in mid-career and who have already demonstrated leadership potential. Enables such men and women, who often become top business, government, and professional leaders in their own countries, to meet their professional counterparts, as well as leaders and people from all walks of life in the U.S., and to acquire an understanding of American institutions, accomplishments and aspirations. Activities include two group seminars and an individually tailored program for each fellow. Though part of their name, the EEF does not award fellowships. Supported by contributions from corporations, foundations, and individuals. Convention/Meeting: annual.

14635 INSTITUTE FOR WORLD UNDERSTANDING OF PEOPLES,

CULTURES AND LANGUAGES (International Relations)
939 Coast Blvd., 19DE
Phone: (619) 454-0705
La Jola, CA 92037
Bernard W. Aginsky, Pres.
Founded: 1965. Conducts scientific research in establishing methodology for the comparative study of all populations, cultures, and languages. Studies world organizations, especially in regard to the future of world civilization.
Publishes Anthropotentialism and Language, and studies in anthropology and social science. Maintains 5000 volume library. Convention/Meeting: None.

14636 INTERNATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (International Relations) (ISC)

New York, NY 10016

Founded: 1984. Subscribers: 10,000. Staff: 12. Military and government officials and officers, political scientists, economists, and historians. Objective is to raise public awareness of the geopolitical struggle between the U.S. and Soviet Union. Conducts bimonthly seminars worldwide dealing with issues of international security such as state terrorism and the nuclear balance. Publishes seminar proceedings and background papers.

14637 PARLIAMENTARIANS GLOBAL ACTION FOR DISARMAMENT, DEVELOPMENT, AND WORLD REFORM (International Relations).

220 E. 42nd St., 33rd Fl. Phone: (212) 687-7755 New York, NY 10017 Aaron Tovish, Exec.Dir. Founded: 1979. Members: 600. Staff: 5. Budget: \$1,000,000. National Groups: 13. Members of internationally recognized national or supranational parliaments, or other forms of legislature, who are active on disarmament, development, and peacekeeping issues. Objectives are to: promote world peace through enforceable world law for world citizens through parliamentary action; promote world order at the highest levels of government by using legislators to contact high ranking officials; demonstrate political support for measures to end the arms race and abolish the war system. Seeks to alleviate poverty and starvation throughout the world, in part by redirecting resources currently used for military buildup to development programs in underdeveloped countries. Has sent a delegation to Moscow, USSR and Washington, DC to present proposals for an immediate nuclear weapons freeze and to negotiate a comprehensive disarmament agreement. Has subsequently circulated a Call for Global Survival, signed by 1000 members on behalf of their constituents, which contains the proposals presented in Moscow and Washington. Originated and organizes Five Continent Peace Initiative, composed of six heads of state from nonaligned countries, which attempts to inject a third arty into the nuclear debate. Conducts annual United Nations Parliamentary Forum. Maintains speakers' bureau. Publications: (1) Global Action for Survival, annual; (2) Politicians for Peace, annual; (3) Politics of Human Survival, annual; also publishes Ending the Deadlock - The Political Challenge of the Nuclear Age. Formerly: (1985) Parliamentarians for World Order. Convention/ Meeting: annual conference - always New York City.